

Great Britain R4

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P E R S U A S I V E

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Impartiality and Candor

In judging of the Present

ADMINISTRATION,

Particularly with regard to our late
Difficulties and Transactions abroad.

Addressed to the PEOPLE.

L O N D O N:

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Importance and Character

ADMINISTRATION

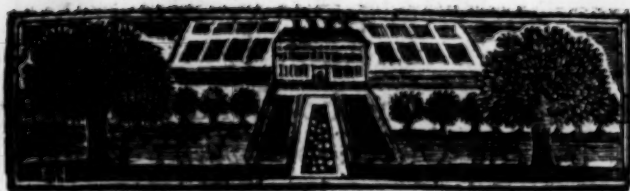
Particulars of the various
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*A PERSUASIVE to Im-
partiality and Candor in
judging of the present
Administration, &c.*

TAKE sincere Part with you, my Fellow-subjects, in the Success with which it hath pleased God to bless His Majesty's Councils, and the Negotiations of His Ministers, in procuring a General Pacification, and putting an end to that painful State of Uncertainty, which has lasted too long, and yet could not be sooner changed. It is now effectually changed: I hope for ever; and with such Honour, that I cannot see what other Terms, or what more Condescension could possibly be found, either from our new Friends or old. The *Emperor* consents to the Introduction of *Don Carlos*
A 2 into

into *Italy*, upon the Conditions proposed by the Queen of *Spain*; though it has been so strongly and frequently asserted, that he never would, or even could: He consents to the utter Abolition of the *Ostend Company*, and engages that no other shall ever be settled in the *Austrian Netherlands*. *France* has no Demands to make. The *Dutch* are made easy about *East Friesland*: And the *British Trade* is settled to continue upon the same Foot as in the Reign of King *Charles the Second*.

PEACE and Trade are what we want; and as far as they were interrupted, they are re-established and secured to us. That this has been so long in doing, I doubt could not be helped. Let us desire Quiet ever so much, we cannot enjoy it without the Consent of our Neighbours; and in this Sense no Nation is independent.

It is in States, as in private Life. Let a Man be ever so peaceable and just, where his Neighbours are quarrelsome and litigious, he must lose his Repose, and spend his Money, though he wou'd be glad to avoid it. He must likewise
manage

manage and vary his Defence according to the present Exigency, and the different Attempts that are made upon him. If an old Friend quarrel with him, he must accept of Assistance and Support where he can have it, even of an old Enemy. If this his new Friend shew Signs of Insincerity and ancient Enmity, he must try all Means to be reconciled to his ancient Friend. It will always be prudent and praise-worthy in him to exercise Patience, and by Management and References to prevent a Quarrel or a Law-Suit, and to suffer a smaller Inconvenience, or many small Inconveniences, rather than risk a greater, or many great ones. For War and Law-Suits are much easier begun than ended. And as many a Man might, at the Expence of an hundred Pounds, have saved a thousand; so many a Country has expended several Millions in a Quarrel, which might have been prevented for less than one.

WHEN once the Sword is drawn, besides those who immediately engage, others from various Views and Instigations are drawn in on either Side; and what was at first only a Contest between two, comes at last to involve twenty,
 3 who

who thenceforth have all separate Claims and Pretensions; and all must continue engaged, till all are satisfied. Thus some Wars, commenced in a Heat, have lasted many Years with incessant Rage, to the utter Ruin of whole Communities; when with a little Coolness, Address and Procrastination, the whole might have been averted.

Is not this sufficient Cause for all wise Men and Nations to avoid War; a Calamity, of which the wisest, when once they are embarked, can scarce ever see the End? I remember in a former Reign, when the Court thought proper to fall upon *Spain* (from what good Policy or Inducements I shall not now enquire) it was confidently said by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons, That to gain a sure Peace, no more was necessary than only to declare War; for that this alone would suffice to terrify that Crown, and bring it to our own Terms. What wrong Reasoning this was, and what a false Prefage, we all remember, and the Nation severely felt.

Our late uncertain Situation did indeed hurt our Trade, and greatly enlarged

ed our Expence: A Misfortune which our Neighbours and Allies, and even those engaged against us, suffered as well as we. But would not a War have hurt our Trade infinitely more, and raised our Expences infinitely higher? Besides, it is not only not certain, but even not probable, that War would have so soon produced publick Tranquillity. Let me add, that as 'tis often their own Guilt which pushes Ministers into Wars, that in the Tumult of Arms, and by diverting elsewhere the publick Attention, they may proceed in their Iniquities, and escape Examination, or at least postpone it; so the Care of Ministers to avoid a War, is no small Presumption of their Innocence. It was the Guilt of *Alcibides*, as well as his Ambition, that prompted him to involve his Country in War; and it was his Advice to *Pericles*, to set a War on foot, thereby to avoid passing his Accounts with the Publick. Cardinal *Richlieu* engaged *France* in a War with *Spain* purely for a selfish End of his own, that of making himself more necessary to the King, without farther Thought of the People, than that they must be obliged to support that War and his Ambition.

I HAVE

I HAVE always thought that there was great Merit and Wisdom in our publick Patience, as by it we have saved many Lives, many Millions, and prevented much national Distress. War is then only justifiable when Treaties will not do. Are Negotiations sometimes tedious? So are Wars; and I believe it seldom happens but that more Evils attend one Years War, than Treaties continued for several Years. In conducting publick Affairs, those Methods are always best, which hurt the Publick least, and save it most.

THE Honour of a Nation is doubtless a tender Thing; but I doubt 'tis often misunderstood. We must not consider it as that of a proud and cholerick Man, who is soon affronted, and as soon draws his Sword. Publick Honour always infers publick Interest and Security; and 'tis more Prudent and Profitable, and therefore more Honourable in a Nation, sometimes to put up an Injury or Insult, than to risk a greater Injury to repair the first.

MANY of you have been weary of our unsettled Condition for some time past;

past; and I cannot say but there has been Cause. Let me only tell you, that that Condition was preferable to a worse, I mean a Condition of War. Neither should you have placed entire Faith in such who, professing great Zeal for the Publick, expressed great Uneasiness that the Honour of the Publick was not avenged by the Sword. I hope their Zeal was sincere; but I doubt it was mistaken. You are much more beholden to the Temper and Conduct of those who were not hasty to take such Vengeance, which must have been taken at your Cost. And you are to consider whether the Zeal of some of your angry Prompters, was not bent as powerfully against the Directors of the Publick, as against that People who insulted the Publick. As Anger sees nothing clearly, and is bad at opening Mens Eyes; so 'tis the Spirit, 'tis the common Practice of Party, to represent nothing fairly, and to make hideous Pictures of Men.

Had we been once engaged in a War, the very same Men who had complained so loudly for not engaging, would have found Cause or Pretence for much louder Complaints; and so would you: And I

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believe

believe I may venture to say without breach of Charity, that they were at least as solicitous to Distress the Administration, as to Redress you; and would not have been more concerned for your Sufferings, than pleased with hurting some of your Superiors.

IN what a War would have ended, God only knows. However it had ended, you would have sensibly found the Weight of it whilst it continued, and I dare say heartily regretted it. The People are often fond of War for a Spurt, but finding the Burden of it, soon grow weary. Peace and peaceable Princes, are upon the whole, most agreeable to the People. They may love Heroism in a Prince, but care not to see it long exerted. Long Wars oppress them, and then they hate him who delights in War.

YOU have therefore reason to rejoice, that you have escaped so great an Evil, to be thankful to your Benefactors for preventing it, and for securing to you the great Blessing of Peace. I have already explained to you in some Measure, how you came of late to enjoy that Blessing so imperfectly. I shall now add, that

that by certain Treaties and Transactions several Years ago, as well as from a Necessity of securing your own Trade and Possessions, you became entangled in Difficulties so various and stubborn, that it has required a long Time, with many Trials and Schemes, to bring things to the same Center, and some of our Neighbours to their old Temper. Whilst this was doing, you have perhaps had your Eyes more upon the Continuance of the Evil, than upon the Progress of the Remedies; you felt the one, and saw not the other.

For, Negotiations cannot, must not, always be presently explained, nor sometimes owned; insomuch that publick Ministers are oftentimes taking great and daily Pains to accomplish Points when they seem to be doing nothing towards it; and are frequently forced to hide and disown the only Measures which are most justifiable and most likely to succeed. This their Silence and seeming Neglect cannot fail to give their Enemies Advantages over them in the Eyes of the People, and Occasion to insult them for not doing, what perhaps they are doing, but must not then disclose, or what perhaps they

they cannot do, but dare not declare that they cannot.

So that Ministers are often debarred from defending even their most righteous Proceedings, whilst others the while may be representing all their best Actions in the blackest Lights. They are sometimes represented as the Authors of Counsels which they had vigorously opposed, and of Evils which they had heartily laboured to prevent. They may even have very good Reasons for not asserting their own Innocence, and for suffering Calumny, rather than for refuting it. As many severe Things which they do not deserve, may be said against them; many Things which might be said to their Advantage, must be suppressed; and when they can clear themselves, and do it ever so fully, 'tis odds but that the first and worst Impressions still remain, and all the Charges against them continue, notwithstanding their being refuted. People are naturally more prone to censure, than to defend others, especially those in great Stations. And as from this Temper, Invectives are more greedily, as well as more generally, received than Defences and Excuses; many People

ple (perhaps the most) will still retain their Opinion of Guilt, though only alledged, in spite of Innocence however fully proved. When a Falshood is told of the Ministry, it readily spreads; and even when 'tis thoroughly refuted, 'tis more than probable that the Refutation does not spread so far, nor is so quickly credited: So that the Falshood has still some Effect, perhaps great Effect. This shews the great Iniquity and bad Heart of the first Publisher.

BELIEVE me, it is much easier to embroil a State, than to disengage and compose it; easier to distress a Ministry when doing the best Things, than for a Ministry to accomplish such Things. And when the People are already uneasy, under Uncertainties and Impatience, all Aspersions, all Charges, the falsest and most improbable, are listened to, believed and encouraged; and what the first Contriver and Publisher knows to be a Lye, is by Numbers received as a solemn Truth. The more virulent it is, and the more monstrous and unlikely, the more Credit it will probably find.

It is but just that Ministers should be answerable for their Faults and evil Doings;

ings ; but 'tis barbarous to traduce them for the best Things that they can do, to upbraid them with fictitious Faults, with Doings which they never did, and with Designs which they never had. To an Assertion made without Proof, the proper Answer is to deny it ; and Men should be presumed innocent till Proofs, at least till Appearances are brought of their Guilt. It is not enough to say, That by discovering an ill Design, the Execution of it is prevented, and that it is only denied because it was frustrated : For Justice requires Proof that there was such a Design, otherwise the most innocent Man upon Earth is eternally liable to be thought the most guilty, whenever an Enemy or Slanderer takes it in his Head to charge him with Guilt. And 'tis too well known, that when a Man stands in our way, or has provoked us by Disappointment, or by being greater than we are, we are not apt to be very scrupulous either in thinking him culpable and bad, or in pronouncing him so. Our own Passions blind us, at least take away half our Sight ; and we see him only in black and ugly Colours, and in such Colours we paint him to others.

You ought therefore to receive all the Complaints and Accusations of Men, who are known to be angry at the Person accused, with large grains of Allowance, and not rashly to pronounce after them, when what they pronounce is probably the effect of Rashness or some other as deceitful Passion.

As long as there are Men, there will be Misfortunes and Disappointments, and such as are under them will be inveighing at somebody or other, who perhaps was not the Cause. Men will be often justly disappointed, yet still complain of hard usage: They are often the Authors of their own Vexations, yet still blame somebody else.

'Tis thus with Nations: There will be for ever Hardships and Grievances felt by many; which however inevitable they be, and growing necessarily out of the Condition of Society, will be thought by the Sufferers owing to particular Men, and the greatest Men are always the surest Marks: He therefore who did them no Harm, and would be glad to do them good, is often cursed because

because Harm befalls them. No human Wisdom, nor the highest Benevolence, can make all Men easy and happy. Publick Men, let them do what Good they will, and even all that they can, will still fail of doing all that is desired.

I ONCE heard a Man rail at the Ministry for a violent Rain, though even that hurt not him. He said the Heavens were angry and mourned, on account of a Treaty then on foot; which I thought a very good one: He thought otherwise, and railed very bitterly at the Treaty-makers; nay, he seemed to believe in good earnest, that the Weather bore Testimony against them. For, nothing does more powerfully inspire Enthusiasm, and all its Fury, than Faction and Party-Spirit. Like other Enthusiasm, it usually gets the better of all good Sense, of all Candor and Charity. In the late Queen's Reign, I have heard the Bishops confidently charged, and fiercely cursed, as being in a Scheme to bring in Presbytery.

PARTY Rage (and what is more apt to Rage than Party?) confounds all the Ideas of Things, and the Characters of Men;

Men; and Men become Angels or Devils, just as they are of this or that Side, and for no other Reason. Is a Man of this Party? 'tis odds, let him be in himself what he will, but he is by his Associates accounted a very able, or a very honest Man, or both; and by his Opposites a very silly Fellow, or a very great Knave, or both. Does he change Sides, as sometimes happens? his old Friends then treat him in the Style of his old Enemies, with Bitterness and Contempt; his new Friends speak of him, as once his old Friends did, with Commendation and Esteem. His real Character for Parts and Probity, or for the Want of them, is perhaps all the while not once fairly drawn. Parties in the State, are like those in Religion; you can never rely upon what one says of another.

THE same Blindness and Partiality possess Parties in Relation to Actions, as in Relation to Men; and Measures are applauded or condemned, not for what they are in themselves, but just according as they are taken by one Party, and rejected by another. What was once reckoned very bad on one Side,

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grows

grows immediately very good, at least very innocent, when once espoused, or adopted by the other; or if it was thought good before, it becomes detestable now.

THIS Infatuation arising from Party, ought to be a warning to all Men against going into the Heats of it, and not blindly to follow those who do. 'Tis by such furious bandying of Parties, and their implacable Hate, that publick Liberty is most dangerously shaken and sometimes destroyed. For, whilst they only study Vengeance against each other, they are in Danger of falling both under one common Slavery.

SCHAH ABBAS, though a great Politician, did a Thing which, in the Issue, ruined *Persia*, and subjected that great Empire to the Sword of a barbarous Invader. As his Family was new, and the Subjection of the People doubtful, he formed and fomented two Parties, one called *Felink*, and the other *Pelink*. This he did to prevent the People's joining in any Conspiracy against his Family; since whatever one Party did, the other would in spite discover and oppose.

He

HE succeeded too well. The two Parties, what through Art, and what thro' the Nature of Parties, were worked up to the most outrageous and frantic Antipathy to each other. Besides daily and private Murders, they often encountered in Bodies, and great Numbers were often slain; all that were so slain, were by their own Side accounted Martyrs, their Memory adored, their Death envied. The mutual Hate of these Factions, who always beheld one another with Horror, proved lasting and hereditary, and was constantly heightened by the several Governors, who incited them to perpetual Conflicts and Battels, and as constantly fined them for such Madness: For to kill each other they thought a Merit towards God.

IT pleased God to manifest and confound such wicked Policy in their Kings, and to turn it into Folly and a Curse. As the People could not under such deadly Contention combine against the State, so neither would they in its Defence; and thus the Armies consisting of these two Parties, out of their Aversion to one another, would not fight; and though very numerous, suffered themselves to be beaten. This gave Myr

Mahmud so easy a Conquest over that noble Country, where the Sword, with all its dreadful Concomitants, has for so many Years made such mighty Havock and Desolation.

It is the Temper of Parties, as to study the Hurt of one another, so to spare no Pains nor Calumnies to vilify and weaken one another; Nor in their mutual Bickerings and Altercations, do they confine themselves to what ought to be said, but take in all that can be said; not what is true, but what is bitter and annoying. Where-ever Faction is well worked up, which is not hard to do, the Materials being generally ready, 'tis accompanied with a Wildness and Infatuation which makes it deaf to all Reason, and only governable by the Cries and Watch-words of its Leaders; and as it becomes slavishly credulous to them, it likewise grows obstinate against all Conviction from any other Quarter,

SINCE therefore the Spirit of Party is thus bewitching, so apt to render Men *Dupes* and Madmen, it behoves you not to suffer yourselves to be possessed with this Spirit. If you would act reasonably and fairly, you should be at least as ready

dy and willing to hear great Men defend-
ed, as to hear them accused. You are
not to imagine that the Word *Minister*,
or the Situation of a Minister, transforms
him immediately into a Monster or De-
mon; for then you must give up and ab-
hor some of your own popular Favourites,
should they ever come to be Ministers.
And who knows what a Change a fair
Opportunity and proper Application
might bring them to? Some of them have
been in Power already. Surely you do not
think that they were all the while your
implacable Enemies, as others since in the
like Stations have been represented.

MINISTERS are usually represented to
you as Men wholly abandoned to their
own Interest, and Enemies to yours. But
they who would persuade you to this,
treat you with too much Contempt. If
you suppose that a Minister has common
Sense (and if he be cried up for a dange-
rous Man, he must have a great deal) 'tis
easy to conceive, that for his own Honour
and Safety, and Ease, he will at least
sometimes consult yours. I am sure, if
he sacrifice or even neglect your Interest,
he leaves his own very precarious. And
whenever any Minister judges so ill, as to
judge otherwise, whenever any Minister
rises

rises by your Misfortunes, may he fall a memorable Victim to your Revenge.

I AM in my Soul convinced, that as it is the real Interest of the present Ministry, so it has been their constant Struggle, to relieve you from the Evils that have pressed you, and to put an End to all Broils abroad, as far as they hurt, or threatened to hurt you. Those Evils gave such Opportunity and Advantage to those who were disposed to distress the Ministers, that the latter must have been worse than Madmen, had they been negligent in removing their own Grievs. Nor can it be shewn how they could reap any private Advantage from the Afflictions of the Publick.

MINISTERS cannot make the Times, nor always mend them. Men are fond of commending Times past; tho' had they lived in them, they would not possibly have commended them. The Truth is, Times past have not hurt us, and therefore we praise them; as hereafter the Time which we live in will probably be praised, and yet we, who live in it, are ready enough to complain of it. Just so we use Ministers present and past, depreciate those, and cry up these, who were likewise

likewise reviled and traduced in their Day; and, in Despight to them, their Predecessors too were extolled.

POWER cannot be possessed by all, nor great Power by many; and whoever thinks that he is as well qualified, or better than he who enjoys it, will be apt to wish him out, and himself in; and, from being a Competitor, he will soon become an Enemy. The longer the Possessor holds it, let him be ever so innocent, the more Foes he will make, and these will make others: Thus the Enmity will be daily spreading. If he oblige one, he will probably disappoint, and therefore incense several; so that whilst he gains the Friendship of a few, (and 'tis like he may even fail in that) he will be daily incurring the Hatred of many.

DOES Power make Men wanton and insolent? (as indeed it often does, but sometimes does not) so does Disappointment, or the want of Power, or Anger at Men in Power, make Men revengeful and partial. Have Ministers, in order to save themselves and their Posts, sometimes sacrificed the Publick? so have Factions in order to destroy Ministers.

Have Ministers their Slaves and determined Instruments? so have Parties: Nay, the greatest Man in a Party is frequently a Slave to it, a conscious abandon'd Slave; such a Slave, that he must often depart from his own Opinion, and do things that he knows to be unjust, dirty and absurd. Nor can he govern his Party without being a Slave to it. I have heard very able Men condemn seriously in private, what they had been forced to labour hard for in publick.

So true it is of Parties, as well as of Ministers, that when once Men are embarked they cannot easily recede. So that you must not imagine, that whatever Men who blame the Government propose, is right and just, or that they themselves think it so; nor that whatever they condemn, is wrong and unjust. They are engaged to find fault, whether there be any real Faults or no. It would be therefore extreme Folly in you, blindly to approve or condemn merely because they do. This would be the very Conduct which they rail at in others, who take the word, and follow the Example of Ministers. It is but common Justice in you to examine before you assent; to suppose that Ministers may receive wrong,
as

as well as do it; that whoever is apparently prejudiced against their Persons, can be no candid Judge of their Actions; and that Minds thoroughly heated and partial, naturally vent themselves in invective, and are always ready to say ill and believe ill of those against whom they are very angry.

You would be shamefully credulous, were you to suppose, what you are often modestly taught to suppose, that all who oppose the Ministry are Patriots, animated only by Love to their Country; and that all who are in the Ministry, or join with it, are Enemies to their Country, or indifferent about it. Common Candor and daily Experience forbid us thus to lump and confound Characters. Yet this is a way which you have been too much used to: But it is really the Voice of Prejudice and Heat, and very dishonourable. Let us do Honour to Truth and to Merit where-ever we find it. A Man may be in place, and yet be very disinterested, as one out of place may be abundantly interested. Surely there are Men in Power, who would readily renounce it, if it came evidently to clash with the Good of the Whole; and 'tis probable there are Men out of Power, who would go great Lengths were they

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in it. At the same time it must be owned, that there are at all times many worthless Men in Favour, and many excellent Persons who enjoy none, as there are others who do.

THE Writers who inveigh most against Men in Power, confess that Power may be possessed without being abused, by owning that there have been in some Times and Countries, some very upright Ministers; and 'tis to be presumed that they have Charity enough for several Friends of their own, to believe that, were these once in high Stations, they would fill them worthily; as I sincerely think some of them would, though I can by no means hope to see the publick Affairs in general better conducted than they are present. We have lived for some time, though not in a Storm, yet free from a perfect Calm, and great Dexterity and Patience were necessary to prevent a general Tempest. What Ravages such a Tempest might have produced, cannot now be told. We have escaped it. Let us do Justice to those by whose Cares and Address we have escaped.

OPPOSITION to Power is often necessary, but not always a Proof of publick Spirit. The Observation of a *Roman* Historian of great Credit, whom I

was lately reading, affected me very much,
 “ That in all the Civil Wars which fol-
 “ lowed upon the Death of *Nero*, no
 “ Man engaged and took Arms upon
 “ worthy and publick Principles, but
 “ *Vipstanus Messalla*.” I think he was
 Tribune in a Legion. It is too true,
 that most Parties hang out false Lights,
 and that their Chiefs oppose, when out
 of Power, Measures which they readily
 take when in it.

IN the History of the Minority of the
 late *French* King we find, that all the
 Leaders who headed the People during
 the Barricades, were making their parti-
 ticular Accommodations with the Court,
 except the Duke of *Beaufort*; who had
 his own Views too, but hoped to carry
 them with an high hand. So true it is,
 that the Pople are generally the *Dupes* of
 their *Demagogues*; and, tho’ they change
 their Leaders, still find their own Con-
 dition not changed. The People of *Pa-*
ris, about this Time, made Bonfires up-
 on the Imprisonment of the Prince of
Conde, as for that of their Enemy; and
 afterwards besieged the King and Queen
 in the Palace Royal, to promote his Li-
 berty, as that of their great Defender;
 though he still despised them as much as
 they had hated him before.

I CANNOT see why you may not as reasonably suppose that a Minister may be your Friend, a Friend to his Country, as those who oppose a Ministry. If they themselves were Ministers, I dare say they would profess the same publick Spirit, the same Affection for their Country, which they at present profess; nor do I see how you could contradict them. Why cannot you have equal Charity for others, who have as much Reason to wish well to the Publick, and to secure Civil Liberty, as they who oppose them can have? They have hitherto stood all Attacks, and seem to fear none. They have procured you publick Tranquillity, and now will have Leisure and Opportunity to accomplish whatever is farther necessary to be done for the Interest and Honour of their Country. They are under no Guilt nor Despair, to divert them from this; and what else should? If they keep others from being where they are; this indeed may offend Particulars, but ought not to provoke the People. One who had till lately a great Employment, and with it suffered much Obloquy, seems by going out to have purchased fair Quarter, and to have at least blunted the Edge of Satyr. But great Places are very apt to be guilty;
and

and so suddenly do Men who were guilty in them, become innocent out of them.

WHILST you are often called upon by others, to remember your Burdens, and to feel your Uneasinesses, give me leave to remind you likewise of your Advantages, and the Happiness which you enjoy, almost above all the Nations upon Earth. You are a People as Free as the Nature of human Society will admit. Your Government is the gentlest of all others, that of a limited Monarchy. Your Laws are made, and your Purse is opened by Representatives of your own chusing, Men from whom you have the greatest Security that can be for the just Execution of their Trust; namely, that in taking care of your Rights, they do but take care of their own, and must, were they to give up your Liberties, bring Slavery upon themselves: Or if they behave themselves unworthily, you need not, nor ought to chuse them any more.

WHILST you possess these precious Liberties, you have a constant Resource for the Remedy of whatever occasional Evils may befall you; whereas in Countries which possess them not, their Burdens and their Grievances are generally eternal, and as much Misery as they can bear,

bear, is their uniform and sorrowful Portion. Your Government is mildly exercis'd; you enjoy an utter Exemption from all the sudden Terrors, and lawless Demands of the Crown, such as were formerly severely felt, even in Reigns which many of you, against all good Sense, were wont to be fond of; whilst, against all Justice and Generosity, many of you have railed at such Administrations as never went beyond the known Bounds and Letter of the Law.

WE see not now, as we once did, under certain of our Princes, who really were very Oppressive, though sometimes much Applauded; I say, we see not, as then were seen, arbitrary Imprisonments in Defiance of the *Habeas Corpus* Act; we see no violent and lawless Proceedings in Courts of Law, no Money raised without Consent of Parliament, no Communities robbed of their Birthrights and Charters, no Claims of arbitrary Rule, or of irresistible Right to do wrong, nor the Laws bending to Prerogative, nor crushed under it.

NOW what Change could you possibly make for the better. You have none in your Choice but for the *Pretender*, one who by his Religion is obliged to persecute you for yours, or to pervert you
from

from it, or to force you to his, and both by Religion and Policy is obliged to oppress and enslave you. Can you forget the Behaviour and Pretensions of his supposed Father, with what Scorn and Insults he used you, as Slaves created for his Pleasure, your Laws as Cobwebs reversible at his Will, your Property and Money at his Mercy? Did he own any other Law, any Rule of Government but his meer Will, his Maggot and Prerogative? Has the pretended Son renounced the Religion or Maxims of the Father? Does he not pretend to claim you like Property or Cattle, by Inheritance, and to use you according to his own Discretion and Appetite? For if Kings must rule by Law, and have no Right but from the Law; all his Advocates have said nothing, and he himself is nothing. But if his Right be unchangeable, and his Power without controul; then the Law is nothing at all, and you are nothing but Slaves, which is being worse than nothing.

At present you enjoy a different and happier Lot. Every Man possesses his Property and his Conscience in full Security and Ease, by Laws which no Man claims a Prerogative to break. The King assumes no Power, no Revenue, but what you have expressly given him, and professes to hold

hold his Authority from the same Laws from which you derive your Protection.

THIS is a just and glorious Balance between King and People, such as few People upon Earth can boast. May you ever boast it, nor ever grow weary of a Felicity so inestimable and rare, and may all who would deprive you of it perish in the execrable Attempt. A State of perfect Happiness is not to be obtain'd here: If we are of all others the nearest to it, let us rejoyce, though our Good be mingled with some Evil.

Of my self I would beg you to believe, that what I here say to you is meant altogether for your Good, for your Comfort and Information, without any View of any Advantage whatsoever to my self, or from any other unjust Bias. I assure you solemnly, I do it without being asked or prompted by any Man living. I have nothing to get by the Continuance of the present Ministers, nothing to lose by a Change; I have Friendships on both Sides, Enmities on neither. A Disinterested Man I certainly am, I hope an Impartial, and desire only to be read with Temper and without Prejudice, agreeably to the Coolness and Candor with which I write.

